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archeological investigation. With a few flourishes of an agile pen Wellhausen traced the development of Old Testament religion from the nomad state down to legalism. He then asserted that the fruit and expression of legalism is the Psalter, in which the Law of Jehovah is glorified and its precepts exalted. Several cogent reasons which critics have overlooked in this discussion now protest against Wellhausen's categorical classification. The wealth of religious poetry that has been discovered in Egypt, Babylonia, and Assyria shows us that psalmody exists among other people as a free expression of religious feelings, entirely independent of the artificial stratification of religious evolutionism. Archeology has taught us to expect psalms from David and Moses and others long before the rise of Judaism and has remarkably corroborated some of the conservative opinions in Old Testament introduction.

These typical examples of rejected contention are representative of evidence which is entirely superfluous for the Christian student, whose faith and conviction is not the result of cumulative argumentation endorsed by philosophical and archeological research. Yet, if it can be definitely shown that, when criticism to-day assails the Old Testament records on linguistic reasons, it has followed faulty leadership and adopted untenable principles; when it can be proved that the long list of indictments against the truth of Old Testament history which are crowded into critical commentaries have been disavowed by the decisive voice of archeology; when, finally, the particularly heated assault against the revealed nature of the Old Testament religion is checked and repulsed by an examination of the new data made available by the discoveries of archeology, the entire process and the anti-Scriptural findings of modern rationalism are branded with an unmistakable sign. Criticism will continue to advance new claims that react to the detriment of the Scriptures. But the very stones of ancient civilizations will become monuments of protests. The mighty fortress of the Word will remain unscathed as the avenging nemesis of archeology reaches out to frustrate and to scatter those who would storm the holy mount. W. A. MAIER.

The So-Called "Christian Interpolations" in Josephus.

A number of factors have combined to make a short article on the probability of Christian interpolations in Josephus, especially in his *Antiquities of the Jews*, desirable. For one thing, the number of recent books on Josephus and his works is surprisingly large, a fact which shows that scholars are taking a new interest in this field of history and criticism. In consequence of this fact the number of

inquiries relative to Josephus has increased, as is quite inevitable when one wishes properly to evaluate the writings of this unique author. And this search for the truth is, in turn, stimulated by the occasional peculiar readings of the Slavonic version, which has been made the object of study on the part of some very prominent scholars, particularly since 1906, when a German translation of the old Russian text containing the supposed Christian interpolations was published. It is on this account that we offer some space to a brief discussion of the somewhat difficult and vexing questions involved.

The problem which concerns us is this. There are a few passages in Josephus's *Antiquities of the Jews*, especially in Book XVIII, also a few in the Slavonic version of the *War of the Jews*, especially in Books II and V, which refer to John the Baptist and his message, also to Jesus and His miracles. Now, the external evidence for the genuineness of these passages, particularly in the Greek copies and in the Latin translations, very decidedly favors the authenticity of the passages, at least in the *Antiquities*, as we shall see. Yet some critics felt that the internal evidence supporting the genuineness of these passages was not sufficiently strong to accept them. It is a case in which higher criticism has felt compelled to express doubts, chiefly on the basis of historical improbability. Let us examine the passages and the evidence for their alleged spurious character in the light of the best historical and critical discussions.

The passages in the *Antiquities* which are supposed by some critics to be interpolations are the following:—

"Now, there was about this time Jesus, a wise man, if it be lawful to call Him a man, for He was a doer of wonderful works, a teacher of such men as receive the truth with pleasure. He drew over to Him both many of the Jews and many of the Gentiles. He was (the) Christ. And when Pilate, at the suggestion of the principal men among us, had condemned Him to the cross, those that loved Him at the first did not forsake Him; for He appeared to them alive again the third day, as the divine prophets had foretold these and ten thousand other wonderful things concerning Him. And the tribe of Christians, so named from Him, are not extinct at this day." (Ed. by Whiston, *Antiquities*, Book XVIII, chap. iii, § 3.)

"Now, some of the Jews thought that the destruction of Herod's army came from God, and that very justly, as a punishment of what he did against John that was called the Baptist; for Herod slew him, who was a good man and commanded the Jews to exercise righteousness towards one another and piety towards God, and so to come to baptism; for that the washing [with water] would be acceptable to Him if they made use of it, not in order to the putting away of some sins [only], but for the purification of the body; supposing still that the soul was thoroughly purified beforehand by righteousness. Now, when [many] others came in crowds about him, for they were greatly moved by hearing his words, Herod, who feared lest the great influence John had over the people might put it into his power and inclination to raise rebellion (for they seemed to do anything he should advise), thought it best by putting him to death to

prevent any mischief he might cause, and not bring himself into difficulties by sparing a man who might make him repent of it when it should be too late. Accordingly, he was sent a prisoner, out of Herod's suspicious temper, to Machaerus, the castle I before mentioned, and was there put to death. Now, the Jews had an opinion that the destruction of this army was sent as a punishment upon Herod and a mark of God's displeasure against him." (Ed. by Whiston, *Antiquities*, Book XVIII, chap. v, § 2.)

There is another passage, concerning James the Just, but that does not have the same bearing on our problem as those pertaining to Christ and to John the Baptist and hence may well be omitted here. But for the sake of completeness certain passages from the Slavonic Josephus (as found in Thackeray's translation of the rendering into German by Berendts) are here offered.

"Now, at that time there walked among the Jews a man in wondrous garb. He had put the hair of beasts upon his body wherever it was not covered with his own hair, and in countenance he was like a wild man. He came to the Jews and enticed them to liberty, saying: 'God has sent me to show you the way of the Law, whereby ye may be freed from many masters. And there shall be no more mortal ruling over you save only the Highest, who has sent me.' And when the people heard this, they were glad, and there went after him the whole of Judea which is about Jerusalem. And he did nothing else to them save than that he dipped them in the river Jordan and let them go, admonishing them to cease from evil works. And (he said that) there would be granted to them a King who would set them free and subject all who were not obedient, but Himself would be subject to no one. Some mocked at his words; but others put faith in him. And when they had brought him to Archelaus and the teachers of the Law were gathered together, they asked him who he was and where he had been until then. And he answered and said: 'I am a man, and hither the divine Spirit has brought me; and I feed on cane and roots and wood-shavings.' . . . And after he had thus spoken, he went forth to that region of Jordan; and since no man durst hinder him, he did what he had done before." (Inserted in *War of the Jews*, Book II, chap. vii.)

"Philip, while he was in his kingdom, saw a dream, to wit, that an eagle plucked out both his eyes. And he called together all his wise men. And when each interpreted the dream differently, that man whom we have before described as walking about in the hair of beasts and cleansing the people in the water of Jordan came to him suddenly, without being summoned. And he said: 'Hear the word of the Lord. (This is) the dream which thou hast seen. The eagle is thy venality, for that bird is violent and rapacious. And this sin will take away thine eyes, which are thy dominion and thy wife.' And when he had thus spoken, Philip expired before evening. And his kingdom was given to Agrippa, and his wife Herodias was taken by his brother Herod. But for this reason all who were learned in the Law abhorred him, but dared not accuse him to his face. That man alone whom they called a wild man came to him in wrath and said: 'Forasmuch as thou hast taken thy brother's wife, thou evil man, even as thy brother hath died a merciless death, so wilt thou, too, be cut off by the heavenly sickle. For the divine counsel will not

stay, but it will destroy thee through evil afflictions in other lands because thou dost not raise up seed to thy brother, but gratifiest fleshly lust and committest adultery, seeing that he has left four children.' But when Herod heard that, he was wroth and commanded that they should beat him and drive him out. But he incessantly accused Herod wherever he found him until he [Herod] (at length) treated him with contumely and ordered that he be slain. Now, his manner of life was marvelous and his life not human. For as a spirit without flesh so he continued. His mouth knew no bread, nor even at Passover did he taste unleavened bread. . . . But wine and strong drink he would not so much as allow to be brought near him, and every beast he abhorred (for food), and every injustice he rebuked, and wood-shavings [or buds of trees] served him for his needs." (Inserted in *War of the Jews*, Book II, chap. ix.)

"At that time there appeared a Man, if indeed it is fitting to call Him a man. His nature and His form were those of a man, yet His appearance was more than that of a man. But His works were divine, and He wrought miracles wonderful and mighty. Therefore it is impossible for me to call Him a man. Again if I look at His nature common (with that of men), I will not call Him an angel. And whatsoever He did He did by some invisible power through word and command. Some said of Him that our first lawgiver had risen from the dead and performed many healings and arts; others thought that He was sent from God. Howbeit in many things He disobeyed the Law and kept not the Sabbath according to the custom of our fathers. Yet, on the other hand, He did nothing shameful; nor (did He do anything) with aid of hands, but by word alone did He provide everything. And many of the multitude followed after Him and hearkened to His teaching, and many souls were in commotion, thinking that thereby the Jewish tribes might free themselves from Roman hands. Now, it was His custom in general to sojourn before the city upon the Mount of Olives; there also He bestowed His healings upon the people. And there were gathered unto Him one hundred and fifty servants and a multitude of the people. . . . And they went and told Pilate. And he sent and slew many of the people and had that Wonder-worker brought up. And after inquiring of Him, he learned that He was a benefactor, not a malefactor and not seditious nor yet desirous of kingship. And he let Him go, for He had healed his dying wife. And He went to His wonted place and did His wonted works. And when more people again assembled round Him and He was glorified for His works before all, those who were learned in the Law were smitten with envy and gave thirty talents to Pilate that he might put Him to death. And he took (the money) and gave them his consent that they should fulfil their wish. And they took Him and crucified Him contrary to the Law of their fathers." (Inserted in *War of the Jews*, Book II.)

"And in it [the Temple] there stood equal pillars and upon them titles in Greek and Latin and Jewish characters, giving warning of the law of purification, (to wit) that no foreigner should enter within. For this they called the Sanctuary, being approached by fourteen steps, and the upper area was built in quadrangular form. And above these titles there hung a fourth title in these characters, announcing that Jesus the King did not reign, but was crucified by the Jews because He prophesied the destruction of the city and the devastation of the Temple." (Inserted in *War of the Jews*, Book V.)

"This veil was before this generation entire, because the people were pious; but now it was grievous to see, for it was suddenly rent from the top to the bottom when they through bribery delivered to death the Benefactor of men and Him who from His actions was no man. And many other terrible signs they relate which happened then. And they said that He, when He had been killed, after being buried, was not found in the sepulcher. Some indeed professed that He had risen, others that He had been taken away by His followers. I know not which speak more correctly. For one who is dead cannot rise by himself save (only) if helped by the prayer of another righteous man, unless he be an angel or another of the heavenly powers or unless God manifests Himself as man and accomplishes what He wills and walks with the people and falls and lies down and rises again, according to His will. But others said it was impossible to take Him away because they set watchmen about His tomb, thirty Romans and a hundred Jews." (Inserted in *War of the Jews*, Book V).

We might add other passages, but those here offered will be sufficient to indicate the peculiar character of the "Christian interpolations" in the Slavonic version of the *War of the Jews*. Let us emphasize here at once that the personal character of Josephus does not come into account in our examination, our purpose being merely to examine into the authenticity of the passages quoted at such length from the *War* and in full from the *Antiquities*.

It may be said at once that there is a difference of opinion among scholars as to the genuineness of some or of all of these passages, although a distinction is observed between the portions in the *Antiquities* and those in the *War of the Jews*, the problem of the latter being largely that of the Slavonic version. Whiston, whose translation of Josephus was for almost two centuries practically the English *textus receptus*, argued strongly for the originality and authenticity of the sections in the *Antiquities*. In an appendix to his translation of the works of Josephus he offers a special dissertation, "The Testimonies of Josephus Concerning Jesus Christ, John the Baptist, and James the Just Vindicated." He bases his chief argument on external reasons, especially on the passages and quotations found in Origen, Eusebius, Ambrose (or Hegesippus), Jerome, Isidorus Pelusiota, Sozomen, Cassiodorus, Anastasias, Georgius, Johannes Malela, Photius, Macarius, and others, who quote one or more passages from Josephus. The sections under dispute are found in the edition by Traill; in the German editions by Bekker and by Niese they are enclosed in parentheses. Schuerer denied the genuineness of the passages not only in his books, but also in a signed article in the *Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia*, where he makes the sweeping statement: "The genuineness of the passage on Jesus Christ (XVIII, iii, 3) is generally given up." He was followed by Kurt Linck. But William E. Barnes of the University of Cambridge in 1920 issued his booklet *The Testimony of Josephus to Jesus Christ*, in which he

summarizes his arguments in the statement: "It is difficult to believe that either of them [*Ant.* XVIII, iii, 3; v, 2] is a Christian interpolation." And J. G. Brunini, in a recent review of Lion Feuchtwanger's *Josephus*, says: "The prophecy of Christ is not mentioned in the book. Its omission points to one glaring fault. If Joseph ben Matthias had never heard of Christ, which is against the facts in view of his own writings, no matter how controversial, certainly Lion Feuchtwanger has."

A careful investigation of the facts, so far as the *Antiquities* are concerned, yields the following results. There is no denying the fact that the external evidence is overwhelmingly in favor of the two passages, as both Whiston and Barnes show in detail. The sections are found in all existing authorities, in Eusebius alone in three different passages. The style of these original testimonies from Josephus is exactly the style of the same Josephus in other parts of this great work. It is especially noteworthy that the internal evidence for the genuineness of the passages is so strong. If they were Christian interpolations, why did not the author or the authors strive for some confessional thought or at least for some agreement with the traditional form of the story of Christ and of John the Baptist? If the account was to be Christianized, why not make it clearly and unmistakably so? This point evidently made a deep impression upon Whiston, as the "Dissertation" referred to above shows. And the same thought is brought out by Barnes, who says: "The defenders of the theory of Christian interpolation have to explain the awkward circumstance that the writer, in setting down the main facts of the Gospel history, has not once fallen into Christian or at least into Gospel language." (P. 4.) He correctly points out that the alleged "testimony" is a masterpiece of non-committal statement as when Christ is called "a doer of no [*sic!*] uncommon (*παράδοξων*) works," a "teacher of men who receive true words with pleasure," and a "wise man" (*σοφὸν ἄνθρωπον*). Barnes sums up his agreement in the following statements: 1. The language of the passages is definitely non-Christian; 2. the clauses which appear to make Christian claims are more reasonably understood in a different sense; 3. the Christian appeal to prophecy is made to appear ridiculous by overstatement; 4. the place of the supposed interpolation is unlikely to have been chosen by a Christian. These arguments are so cogent, especially if one compares the passages in question with the language and the style of the apocrypha, the pseudepigrapha, and even such material as that contained in the *Archko Volume*, that one cannot refrain from assenting to the conclusions as given. The passages in the *Antiquities* are undoubtedly a genuine, if a non-committal, testimony of a Jewish writer to the historicity of John the Baptist and of Jesus the Christ.

But the matter is substantially different if one examines the pas-

sages from the Slavonic version quoted above. Here, indeed, there is also some disagreement among the scholars who have made a more or less detailed study of the material. Berendts of Dorpat, who in 1906 published a German translation of the old Russian text for the passages relating to John the Baptist, Jesus Christ, and the early Church, propounded the startling theory that the Slavonic version was derived, through the medium of a Greek translation, from the earliest version of Josephus, the Aramaic. Berendts was followed by another Dorpat scholar, Johannes Frey, who, however, felt that the paragraphs are interpolations into the text of Josephus based upon good early tradition: This theory was very decisively rejected by Schuerer, and Hoennicke also argued that Frey's positive statements were inconclusive. Eisler (*The Messiah Jesus and John the Baptist according to Flavius Josephus*) favored the notion of a Christian interpolation, but he seems to have been influenced very strongly by the case of the *Antiquities*. John Martin Creed of Cambridge University, whose historical account we here follow ("The Slavonic Version of Josephus' History of the Jewish War," in *Harvard Theological Review*, XXV, 277 ff.), is not ready to accept Josephus as the author of the passages in the *War of the Jews*. He says, in part: "The passages have been worked into the text of Josephus with some tact and skill. The account of 'the wonder-worker' appears where it is to be expected, in the middle of Josephus's brief account of the procuratorship of Pilate. The account of the persecution of His followers springs out of a description of the religious policy of the procurators Cuspius Fadus and Tiberius Alexander. The account of the Temple veil in Josephus gives an opportunity to return to the events of the crucifixion and the resurrection. The chronology of the Baptist's career is curious: on the one hand, by the confusion of the first husband of Herodias with Philip the tetrarch, combined with the supposition that Philip the tetrarch was dead when Antipas married Herodias, the encounter between Antipas and John is transposed to the late date A. D. 33/34; on the other hand, the first appearance of the Baptist is placed under Archelaus (that is, not later than 6 A. D.) . . . It is improbable that the writer had thought out the chronological implications of the narrative as he left it. . . . The picture of the Baptist is the most remarkable feature in the collection. Like Jesus (who is regularly styled the 'wonder-worker') the Baptist is anonymous — 'the man in wondrous garb,' 'the man of whom we have previously written that he went about in the hair of beasts.' The account of his preaching suggests a note of theocratic hostility to organized government, which has no counterpart in the New Testament texts. The detailed account of his ascetic life is again independent of, and different from, the picture in the gospels. It is tempting to conjecture that the figure of some contemporary

eremite has influenced the portrait, but attempts to discover any definite source have not been successful. The passage remains something of a riddle. On the other hand, apocryphal literature on John does provide a close parallel to the Slavonic writer's version of John's rebuke to Antipas, and further researches may yet yield further clues." (Pp. 315 f.)

On the basis of the material now accessible with regard to the interpolations in the *War of the Jews* the following conclusions seem warranted: 1. The passages are not found in the Greek (and Latin) versions transmitted in the West; 2. Josephus would hardly have been guilty of gross misstatements as to chronological sequence; 3. the passages have a very fanciful cast, unlike the style of Josephus, although the author of the interpolations evidently tried to imitate the thoughts of a Jew concerning the persons described. Hence we conclude that the passages, which may have been suggested to the Slavonic translator by the testimonies in the *Antiquities*, are not authentic and should therefore not be considered in arguments based upon Josephus.

P. E. KRETZMANN.

Tanz und Kirchendisziplin.¹⁾

. . . Die Wichtigkeit des hier [durch den Vortrag des Herrn P. K.] berührten Gegenstandes rief nun einen langen und lebendigen Meinungsaustausch in der Konferenz hervor, der sich jedoch hauptsächlich um die rechte Erledigung folgender drei hierbei ins Auge zu fassenden Punkte drehte:

1. ob der weltübliche Tanz Sünde sei;
2. ob das unbußfertige Verharren in dieser Sünde den Bann nach sich ziehe; und
3. wie diejenigen zu behandeln seien, welche aus Schwachheit hier und da zur Teilnahme an sogenannten Gelegenheitsstänzen verlockt und hingerissen werden.

Was den ersten Satz betrifft, ob der in Frage stehende Tanz Sünde sei, so wurde Herrn P. Fürbringers brieflich gegebenes und schon früher einmal besprochenes Gutachten über das Tanzen abermals vorgelesen, ebenso ein Abschnitt aus D. Luthers Schriften und ein Ausspruch Joh. Ambachs vom Jahre 1543 aus Speners „Theologischen Bedenken“. Die nun sich hieran knüpfende Diskussion ergab folgendes Gesamtergebnis: Nicht Tanz an sich, sondern das weltübliche Tanzen (wie es ganz besonders hier in Amerika vorkommt) ist eine sündige und schwere Sünde,²⁾ oder noch näher bestimmt, wenn die Teilnahme an den

1) Auszug aus dem Protokoll der Wisconsin-Pastoralkonferenz vom Jahre 1862.

2) Nämlich durch die ungeziemende Verführung der Geschlechter.